

Message Text

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ACTION IO-13

INFO OCT-01 AF-10 EUR-12 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04
H-01 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01
SP-02 SS-15 OIC-02 ARA-06 EA-07 NEA-10 EB-07
OMB-01 TRSE-00 DHA-02 NSCE-00 SSO-00 USIE-00
INRE-00 /110 W

-----120039Z 035314 /64

O R 112330Z MAY 77
FM USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3577
AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY MAPUTO IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY OTTAWA
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY PRETORIA
AMCONSUL CAPE TOWN
AMEMBASSY MADRID IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L USUN 1491

ABIDJAN FOR AMBASSADOR YOUNG

CAPE TOWN FOR EMBASSY

MADRID FOR THE SECY'S PARTY

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR, US, UN, WA, SF
SUBJECT: MAPUTO CONFERENCE - FIVE POWER DISCUSSION 11 MAY

REF: A) STATE 106155 TOSEC 040146, B) USUN 1466

1. SUMMARY: THE FIVE MET ON 11 MAY AT STAFF LEVEL AT US AND
FRG SUGGESTION TO FURTHER JOINT PREPARATIONS FOR THE MAPUTO
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CONFERENCE. THE DISCUSSION PROVED USEFUL IN DEVELOPING A
SHARED APPROACH, ALTHOUGH ALL RECOGNIZED THAT THE ATMOSPHERE AND
DEVELOPMENTS AT THE CONFERENCE WOULD HAVE TO CONDITION THE
CHARACTER OF OUR PUBLIC STATEMENTS, OUR CORRIDOR ACTIVITIES, AND
THE MANNER OF RECORDING NON-ACCEPTANCE OF THE MAPUTO DECLARATION.
END SUMMARY.

2. DETAILS. NAMIBIA. THE FRG IN PARTICULAR WITH SOME SUPPORT FROM THE BRITISH AND FRENCH EXPRESSED THE HOPE THAT THE FIVE MIGHT AT AN EARLY STAGE OF THE MAPUTO CONFERENCE ISSUE A JOINT DECLARATION OF POSITION, ESPECIALLY ON OUR NAMIBIA DISCUSSIONS WITH THE SAG, AND THUS SHOW OUR SOLIDARITY. (AN EC-9 STATEMENT ON SOUTHERN AFRICA IS IN PREPARATION, WHICH THEY WILL GIVE US WHEN IT IS AGREED.) HOWEVER, THE FIVE CONCLUDED THAT THIS WOULD NOT PROVE PRACTICABLE IN VIEW OF THE CONFERENCE OPENING AS SOON AS 16 MAY AND WITH THE UNCERTAIN POSSIBILITY OF A DIRECT ATTACK BY SAMORA MACHEL ON OUR NAMIBIA DISCUSSIONS. IN THIS REGARD, IT WAS OBSERVED THAT MACHEL MIGHT IN HIS OPENING SPEECH AS HOST TO THE CONFERENCE READ SELECTIVELY, AND HARMFULLY, FROM HIS BRIEFING PAPER (SEPTTEL). THE FIVE AGREED THAT THERE IS EVERY REASON TO ANTICIPATE THAT THE NAMIBIA SECTIONS OF OUR SEPARATE NATIONAL STATEMENTS TO THE CONFERENCE WILL BE COMPLETELY COMPATIBLE. (THE BRITISH ARE INSCRIBED FOR TUESDAY PM; FRANCE TUESDAY PM; THE FRG, IF IT SPEAKS, LATE WEDNESDAY AM OR EARLY WEDNESDAY PM, CANADA HAS NOT INSCRIBED AS YET.)

3. THE FIVE RECOGNIZED THE UNDESIRABILITY OF ANY VERY DETAILED DESCRIPTION OF OUR NAMIBIA DISCUSSIONS. FOR EXAMPLE, IF IN DESCRIBING ELECTIONS WE USED THE PHRASE "SUPERVISION AND CONTROL", WE WOULD RISK A DENUNCIATION BY VORSTER, WHILE THE ALTERNATIVE PHRASE "UN INVOLVEMENT" WOULD RISK AFRICAN DENUNCIATION. THERE WAS GENERAL AGREEMENT WITH THE FRENCH SUGGESTION THAT THE BASIC ELEMENTS OF OUR NATIONAL STATEMENTS ON NAMIBIA COULD BE THE FOLLOWING:

(A) THE FIVE WENT TO CAPE TOWN TO WORK FOR AN INTERNATIONALLY CONFIDENTIAL

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ACCEPTABLE SOLUTION IN ACCORDANCE WITH SC RESOLUTION 385;
(B) ALL PARTIES SHOULD REFRAIN FROM ANY MOVE THAT MIGHT OBSTRUCT THIS OBJECTIVE. (ADDITIONAL OPTIONAL ELEMENTS IN OUR STATEMENTS COULD INCLUDE: (I) SAG AGREEMENT NOT TO ENACT LEGISLATION IMPLEMENTING THE TURNHALLE CONSTITUTION; (II) THERE SHOULD BE NO ESCALATION OF VIOLENCE; AND (III) ALL PARTIES MUST HAVE THE OPPORTUNITY TO PARTICIPATE IN THE NEGOTIATIONS.
(C) THE TALKS WITH THE SAG WERE SUFFICIENTLY ENCOURAGING TO REQUIRE APPROPRIATELY BRIEFING OTHER GOVERNMENTS AND INTERESTED PARTIES AND PLANNING FUTURE TALKS.

4. RHODESIA. THE FIVE AGREED THAT ROWLANDS SPEECH SHOULD TAKE THE LEAD, AS AMONG THE FIVE, CONCERNING RHODESIA. THE BRITISH WILL TRY TO PROVIDE IN MAPUTO AS EARLY AS POSSIBLE A DRAFT OR DETAILS OF THE CONTENTS OF THE SPEECH TO THE OTHERS OF THE FIVE (SEPTTEL). THE UK SUGGESTED THAT THE US TAKE THE LEAD IN SPEAKING TO THE CONFERENCE ON NAMIBIA, BUT NO CONCLUSION WAS REACHED.

5. REPLIES TO ATTACKS. ALL RECOGNIZED THAT THE FIVE MAY WISH ON THE SPOT TO REPLY INDIVIDUALLY OR TO PREPARE SOME FORM OF JOINT REPLY IF WE ARE ATTACKED EARLY AND BY IMPORTANT SPEAKERS AT THE CONFERENCE, E.G., MACHEL ON NAMIBIA. ON THE OTHER HAND, ALL AGREED THAT, TO THE EXTENT POSSIBLE, WE WOULD PROBABLY WANT TO AVOID A POSTURE OF REPLYING TO EVERY CRITICAL STATEMENT.

6. MAPUTO DECLARATION. CANADA AGAIN EXPLAINED IT IS NOT PREPARED IN ADVANCE TO AGREE THAT THE DECLARATION WILL BE UNACCEPTABLE BUT THEIR EXPECTATION IS THAT THE TEXT WILL IN FACT PROVE TO BE SO. BUT ALL FIVE AGREED THAT WE SHOULD AVOID GETTING INVOLVED IN DETAILED BARGAINING OR NEGOTIATIONS ON THE TEXT OF THE DECLARATION. INSTEAD, WE WILL BE FULLY INVOLVED IN EXPLAINING OUR VIEWS AND IDENTIFYING PRINCIPAL DIFFICULTIES; THUS WE COULD EXPLAIN THAT SANCTIONS COULD MAKE FURTHER DISCUSSIONS WITH THE SAG IMPOSSIBLE, AND THAT A CHARACTERIZATION OF SWAPO AS THE SOLE AUTHENTIC REPRESENTATIVE OF THE CONFIDENTIAL

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NAMIBIAN PEOPLE IS INCONSISTENT WITH OUR SC RESOLUTION 385-BASED EFFORTS TO OBTAIN MEANINGFUL ELECTIONS IN NAMIBIA. CANADA SAID THAT IF THEIR EXPECTATION OF AN UNACCEPTABLE DECLARATION IS FULFILLED, THEY WOULD BE READY AT MAPUTO TO CONSIDER A JOINT STATEMENT BY THE FIVE DISSOCIATING OUR DELEGATIONS FROM THE DECLARATION. THE FIVE AGREED THAT, IF A JOINT STATEMENT OR STATEMENT BY ONE ON BEHALF OF ALL FIVE PROVES PRACTICABLE, IT MIGHT TAKE THE FORM OF A BRIEF ARTICULATION OF RESERVATION OR A LONGER EXPOSITION OF BASIC PHILOSOPHY. THIS COULD NOT BE DECIDED IN ADVANCE. IN ANY EVENT, THE FIVE GAVE NO FURTHER CONSIDERATION TO ASKING FOR A VOTE ON THE DECLARATION, FRANCE SAYING THAT TO DO SO WOULD BE INCONSISTENT WITH OUR BASIC POSTURE OF AVOIDING GETTING INVOLVED IN NEGOTIATIONS ON THE DETAILS OF THE DECLARATION. IT WAS ALSO AGREED THAT A JOINT OR INDIVIDUAL STATEMENT OF DISSOCIATION FROM THE DECLARATION SHOULD; OPTIMALLY, BE INCLUDED IN THE REPORT OF THE CONFERENCE, BUT THAT, IF THERE IS NO REPORT, THE STATEMENT OR STATEMENTS SHOULD BE MADE IN A PUBLIC MANNER AND GIVERN APPROPRIATE PUBLICITY.
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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01-Jan-1994 12:00:00 am
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: MAPUTO CONFERENCE, DIPLOMATIC DISCUSSIONS, FOREIGN POLICY POSITION
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Sent Date: 11-May-1977 12:00:00 am
Decaption Date: 01-Jan-1960 12:00:00 am
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 22 May 2009
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1977USUNN01491
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: D770166-0737
Format: TEL
From: USUN NEW YORK
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1977/newtext/t19770568/aaaacgix.tel
Line Count: 159
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Message ID: 12613096-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ACTION IO
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 3
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: 77 STATE 106155, 77 USUN NEW YORK 1466
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 22-Dec-2004 12:00:00 am
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 2556215
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: MAPUTO CONFERENCE - FIVE POWER DISCUSSION 11 MAY
TAGS: PFOR, US, WA, SF, GE, FR, UK, UN
To: STATE ABIDJAN
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odb://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/12613096-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
22 May 2009
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009